Bombay Gazette.

Wednesday, August 21, 1816.

(Volume 27.) (Number 1368

Government Advertisement.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Packet, now open at this office, for the reception of Letters to be transmitted to England by the Asia, Captain GREIG, will be closed on the 6th Proximo.

R. SNOW,
H. M. D. Post-Master General.

H. M. Post Office,
Bombay, August 21st 1816.

FOR PRIVATE SALE,
AT THE
Gazette Office,
Dr. Rees's
CYCLOPEDIA,

TWENTY eight Volumes of this valuable work, are half bound in Russia leather. It is brought down to the letter S. inclusive, and will be sold, at prime cost, with the usual charges. The continuation of the Cyclopœdia may also be had as the parts are published and received from England.

Likewise the Edinburgh Review, consisting of 25 Volumes half bound in Russia, with an Index to the first 20 Volumes.

Bombay, 21st August 1816.

Advertisement.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

THAT, in consequence of the decease of MR. HENRY FAWCETT, *and the retirement of* MR. P. C. BRUCE *and* MR. GEORGE SIMSON *from the firm of* BRUCE, FAWCETT *and* CO. *the Partnership, hitherto subsisting between them and* MESSRS. JAMES GATHORNE REMINGTON, JAMES HENRY CRAWFORD *and* ROBERT EDWARD STEPHENSON, *has been dissolved, by mutual consent; and that the business of the above Establishment, will, in future, be conducted by the remaining partners* (MESSRS. REMINGTON, CRAWFORD, *and* STEPHENSON) *under the firm of*

Remington, Crawford and Co.

Bombay, 6th August 1816,

To be Sold

BY
PUBLIC OUTCRY,
AT
MR. MONEY'S HOUSE,
IN
Rampart Row

On Monday next the 26th Instant,
A VARIETY OF
HANDSOME Furniture, China Cut and Plain Glass Ware, Liquors, Table Linen, Books, an Eng- Phæton &c. &c. the property of a leman returning to England in

whole may be viewed any day ously to the day of Sale.

Bombay, 21st August 1816.

Edulgee Cursetjee

Begs leave to acquaint the Public, that on Saturday next, the 24th Instant, he will sell, by auction, at his Rooms, in Medows Street, the sundry Household furniture, Silver, Plated, Glass and Queens ware, two Cambay Carpets &c. &c. the whole belonging to a Gentleman leaving the Settlement. And also at 12 o'Clock will be put up several Saddle Horses.

[*Bombay, 21st August* 1816.

Advertisement.

THAT the Widow Saraswattiboy of JANOJEE BHICKAJEE, late of Bombay Hindoo Weaver, and which JANOJEE BHICKAJEE was one of the grand sons and linial descendants of CRUSTNAJEE JANOJEE, also late of Bombay Hindoo Weaver, and MANOCKJEE LUXEMONJEE great grand son and linial descendant of the said CRUSTNAJEE JANOJEE Hindoo Weaver, having bargained and sold to MERWANJEE NOWROJEE MANOCKJEE her garden with the Hill called Dongrey and Varcoll situated on Dowadahngur or Mallabar Hill, any person or persons having any claims or demands whatsoever on the said Garden or Hill as above mentioned, are hereby requested to notify or bring forward the same to the said Purchaser MERWANJEE NOWROJEE MANOCKJEE at the Office of Messrs J. F. Pereira and Sobrinho within 15 days from the date hereof, or otherwise they will be precluded therefrom.

[Bombay, 21st August, 1816.

શ્રી·મોબાઇ·મધે·શરવેને·
ખબર·જાહેર·થાઇજે*

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હી*

મોબાઇ·ગેજટી·પરશે

તા·૨૭)મી·આગશટ·શને·૧૮૧૬)

NAUTICAL CHRONICLE & NAVAL REPORT.

BOMBAY.

ARRIVED.—August 18th Ship Sunbury, Captain John Tosh, from Calcutta.

SAILED.—August 17th Ship Partridge Free Trader, Captain John Anderson, to England.—19th The H. Company's Ship Marquis of Ely, Captain James Dalrymple to China.

BOMBAY.

DEATH.]—At Baroda on the 4th instant, aged 23 years, Hurrychund Dhackjee. He was the second son of Dhackjee Dadajee, and highly respected by his relations and all who knew him.

EUROPE.

MARRIAGE.—At Christchurch, Hants, the Rev. R. Jackson, Chaplain to the Presidency of Bombay, to Miss Burtles.

DEATH.—At Presteinge, in his 72d year, George Harding, Esq. First Justice of the Breson Circuit and Attorney-General to the Queen.

The Gazette.

WEDNESDAY, 21st August 1816.

NO Ship from Europe has arrived during the last week, tho' the *Orpheus* and *Mulgrave Castle*, may, daily, be looked for. It seems uncertain when H. M. Ship *Favorite* may be expected, from the Gulph; we fear however that she will not reach Bombay before the middle of next month. H. M. Ship *Hearties*, Captain Hill was to leave Europe with Packets for Madras and Bengal about the end of April or beginning of May. The country Ships *George* and *Frederic* and *Maria* were also to depart from thence about the same time.

We are extremely grieved to find that the health of the Prince Regent is very far from being such as his friends or the country could wish. We have heard, indeed, thro private channels, very desponding accounts concerning him, but we are willing to hope they may, shortly, be proved to be altogether fallacious.

In our columns of to day will be found an interesting debate, which took place in the House of Commons, on tho 26th of April, relative to the present state of Ireland. We wish, to Heaven! that some successful mode could be discovered for ameliorating the condition of that unhappy country. To us, it seems as if matters, there, were getting worse and worse, and we really fear that, ere long, 40,000, instead of 25,000, men will be wanted to keep the turbulent and misguided in awe. At the same time we repose considerable confidence in Mr. Peel, since, to us, he appears, not only master of the subject, on which he spoke, but also extremely desirous of doing all he can, with propriety, for the emerald Isle.

English Extracts.

PARIS, APRIL 10.

In giving an account of the ceremony of the late exhumation of the late Duke of Enghien, papers stated that M. de Caulaincourt with Savary attended that Prince's execution. The family of that gentleman hastened to request the interference of the Russian Minister, who lost not a moment in representing the impossibility of M. de Caulaincourt's being present at that event; further informing Government of his Imperial Master's being satisfied of his not having participated in the guilt of that transaction, and in demanding that the error be immediately rectified. The King, in consequence of this application, gave orders that a few dots following the word Mr. be substituted instead of the name, which demi-satisfaction proving insufficient, the demand of an entire suppression of the passage relative to M. de Caulaincourt was insisted up on, and at length complied with.

Barras, who once presided over the destinies of the French Republic, is now employed in watching over the safety of the Court of Louis, having the direction of the Counter-Police, under the Duc d'Havre, one of his Majesty's most confidential servants. He is the uncle of M. de Blacas, who will inherit his large fortune. He fills this office in conjunction with Tollien.

The Allies at this moment give uneasiness to the Court and hopes to the people. Two Cabinets are said to govern France: a French Cabinet and an Allied Cabinet. Numerous conferences have lately taken place between the members of the latter. There subject is obvious, but their result, matter of conjecture. It is generally understood that the Allies, discovering the impossibility of maintaining the reigning Family on the Throne, are agreed as to their removal, but differ as to the dynasty which is to succeed them. The principle of legitimacy once set aside, and that of expediency prevailing, each Sovereign puts in a claim for his *protege*. The Russian Emperor for the Prince of Orange, the Austrian Emperor for the young Napoleon, & the British Cabinet for the Duke of Orleans. The reigning Family foreseeing opposition to their views on the part of the Allies, are vainly endeavouring to strengthen their party. People have been entrusted with secret missions, to make out lists in all the departments of such individuals as can be depended upon in case of emergency. The feeling of the nation towards the Allies is altered, the Bourbons having absorbed the hatred they at first felt for the strangers. The Allies cannot but foresee a convulsion, dangerous for themselves not less than for those they have put on the Throne. A National Government, one of their own free choice, is the universal cry throughout France. The relinquishment of conquered territory, sacrifices of money, securities, they willingly consent to, but above all a National Government is their object, and indeed it is the only one that appears calculated to afford a chance of permanency, or a prospect of tranquillity to Europe. [*The Morning Chronicle*,—*April* 19,

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PARIS APRIL, 24th.

The Duke of Welling on arrived in Paris on the night before last. The Aid-de-Camp of the Emperor Alexander, whose arrival here I mentioned in my last, brings dispatches of which one of the objects is to withdraw from the Duke the command of the Russian army in France, which he holds as Generalissimo of the allied forces. The precise cause of the differences existing between the Russian and British Cabinets, cannot long remain a secret to the public, it would appear, that they relate to the settlement of a new order of things in contemplation in this country. According to the most prevalent opinion, these differences arise from pretensions set up by Russia in favour of the young Prince of Orange, in the event of the reigning family of France being removed from the throne. The expediency of the latter measure, for the general tranquility of France and that of Europe, is understood to be now sensibly felt by the Allies. An article which has lately appeared in the Belgian Moniteur, is thought to be remarkable under the present circumstances. This article which is a most flattering eulogy of the young Prince

of Orange, concludes with the remark, that the *young Prince justifies already the high destinies to which he may be called.* These high destinies, in the opinion of many, are obviously the throne of France. The Government of the Low Countries, in concert with that of Russia are certainly taking steps in that view. They lately made overtures to a character of great eminence in this country, who suspecting M. de Richelieu's feeling on that point, ventured to confine to him the communication he had received. That Minister replied, "such overtures do not surprize me, you may be further consulted on the same subject." Whence it would appear, that M. de Richelieu is not a stranger to the Russian plan, in favour of the young Prince, and that he presides over the Government of France, as it has always been thought, under the immediate influence of Russian Councils. In the hypothesis of such a change of dynasty, the late vote of credit for the six millions demanded by M. de Richelieu, might be supposed a provision for the retiring Princes.

Fifteen Spanish liberalists were arrested here yesterday, on suspicion of being connected with the late conspiracy at Madrid. Mina is one of the number.

M. de Talleyrand sets out for Valencay to-morrow. This journey is variously accounted for; some will have, that it takes place in obedience to orders of exile, which is by no means probable; others say, that foreseeing a crisis which can be but little profitable to himself in any way, he deems it prudent to remove from the theatre of events.

[*The Morning Chronicle,—April* 29.

PARIS APRIL 25.

We are all occupied here in conjectures and reflections on the probable result of a Treaty of Aliance which is *reported* to have been signed between the Emperor of Russia, his Majesty of Prussia, and the King of the Netherlands. It is said that the object of the Duke of Wellington's visit to the Hague is to obtain an explanation of the King of the Netherlands as to the intentions of the high contracting parties in this triple alliance.—The Noble Duke is particularly interested in acquiring an exact knowledge of the object of this Treaty, as it is generally said that Russia has manifested a wish to deprive his Lordship of the command of the Allied Army stationed on the French frontiers, and to offer it to the Prince of Orange. What degree of credit is to be attached to these reports I will not say. I yesterday heard a Russian Gentleman say, that it was absolutely necessary that Austria should cede Gallicia to the Emperor Alexander, who never could or would be satisfied until that province was added to his dominions. It appears that Russia is become the fast friend and firm supporter of the King of the Netherlands. To Russian influence is attributed the little attention which has been paid to the remonstrances of this Court, relative to the protection and asylum afforded to the French Regicides in Belgium. Many persons suppose that the result of this triple alliance will be the forming of a similar treaty between England, France and Austria. But recollect that what I send you is but report and the report of Paris!!! [*The Morning Chronicle,—April* 30.

When the Prince of COBURG came up from Brighton to the Studhouse in Hampton Park, on Sunday last, he visited both Clermont and Bottleys. The first cannot be let, but may be sold; the second cannot be sold, but may be let. Clermont is a noble house, with a park of about 350 acres well wooded. The value, including the timber, may be about 50,000l. It is 17 miles from town, and about the same distance from Windsor. But again we ask, why purchase such a place when there are so many palaces unoccupied?

One reason rather improbable indeed, is given in answer to this question; viz! that the PRINCE REGENT may yet have a son; and that to set up the Princess CHARLOTTE in royal state as *heir apparent* to the Throne; when by such an event she might be disappointed of that elevation, would be highly improper. And this reason is given for all the proposed regulations—the revolting title of *Kendal*—the *green* livery—the private houses—the restriction of drawing-rooms &c. &c. &c.—Is there lurking under this specious pretext of future probabilities any design of a measure (which recent circumstances, we are told, have made practicable), by which they might be realized? But granting even the event to happen, that, by a second marriage, the PRINCE REGENT should have a Son, surely it would then be the proper season to make the arrangements for the Princess CHARLOTTE when are now establishing, and the PRINCE, her august Consort, might safely rely on the generosity and justice of the Nation for an adequate provision, in any change of circumstances that might affect his fortune in the proposed union! The subject is too delicate to enlarge upon in a Journal, but it is freely discussed in the upper circles, as if it were a matter actually contemplated at Court.

The applications to become Maids of Honour to the Princess CHARLOTTE amount to 574.

[*The Morning Chronicle,—April* 13.

LORD AND LADY BYRON.

The legal instrument of separation is signed by Lord and Lady Byron, and this day the Noble Lord takes his departure for the Continent. We abstain, therefore, from all further observation on this delicate subject, which ought never, in our mind, to have been made the topic of Newspaper discussion. We felt it our duty simply to stand forward in vindication of the Noble Poet, when cruelly slandered, but not as being in his confidence, or in any way instructed by him. The *Courier* and *Morning Post* are therefore mistaken in this respect. We never saw the two Poems that have given rise to so much fury, till they appeared in *The Morning Herald*, and we have neither seen nor heard from Lord Byron, through the whole period of the controversy. We were led to postpone the publication of Sir Ralph Noel's letter for one day, because we dreaded, from what we had heard of the matter in society, that the Noble Lord would be provoked to print the testimonies to his innocence which he possessed, if reports of the horrible atrocities imputed to him should be continued. An agreement for a separation had been signed by the two gentlemen to whom the case was referred. But after this agreement, which was to stop all legal proceedings on both sides, the most insidious and diabolical charges were anonymously circulated against him. And yet it is now pretended that the Noble Lord was the first to bring the suspected destroyer of his domestic peace to the tribunal of the public! Let those who accuse him of bitterness in his satire, think of the provocation that he received. But the agreement is confirmed. Husband and wife are separated; and the Noble Lord, we are sorry to say, quits his country, perhaps, for ever.

[*The Morning Chronicle,—April* 23.

A dashing young lady, who understood that "retrenchment was the order of the day," said, "she had cut off two of her lovers, and should endeavour to go on with three in future."

The architect of the Regent's street proceeds very boldly with his plans; but on a window in one of the new houses was written the following couplet:

Nash draws designs; but, honest Master Nash,
Tho' you may draw—who answers with the cash?

Two young scholars disputing about the difference between a *Bishop* and an *Archbishop*, their tutor informed them—that one meant a man of piety and learning; the other, a man of family.

The *Blue Stocking Club* is revived, and the *conversationes* are enlivened by puns and *riddle-mares*, brought by the ladies in their *ridicules*, ready cut and dried.

The following were sported at the last assembly near Berkeley-square, with *eclat*:—Lady ELIZABETH S—— asked, "Why are Lord P—RS—M's dashing *pantaloons* like two foreign towns?" "Because," replied the Hon. Miss B——, "they are too long (*Toulon*) and too loose (*Toulouse*)!" The same lively Countess sported another, viz. "Why does a *waiter* resemble a *blood horse?*" General T———N instantly said, "Because he *runs for the plate!*"

The late Newmarket Meeting was the most numerous that has been known since the memorable *Hambletonian* race. The Austrian Ambassador, who wished to be present at the running between *Sir Joshua* & *Filho da Puta*, was, with many others, detained on the road for want of horses, and was thus unfortunately deprived of the sport.

The Hon. Mr. Neville has been offered 10,000 guineas for his horse, *Sir Joshua*.

The following anecdote was related by an American gentleman, at the New-York Coffee-house:—An old gentleman, at the point of death, called a faithful Negro to him telling him he would do him an honour before he died; the fellow thanked him and hoped Massa would live long:—"I intend, Cato," said the master, "to allow you to be buried in the family vault."—"Ah Massa," returned Cato, "me no like dat; ten pounds would be better to Cato, he no care where he be buried; besides, Massa suppose we buried together, and the devil come looking for Massa, in the dark, he might take away poor Negar man in mistake."

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, APRIL 26.

STATE OF IRELAND.

Sir J. NEWPORT said the magnitude and importance of the task it might appear presumptuous in him to attempt, when so many other members from Ireland were so much more competent to it. Their research and eloquence might have illumined the dark and dreary path he was obliged to pursue. His zeal had outrun his ability; but all his defects could be amply supplied by others, particularly by the members of the City and University of Dublin, who could make the house entire masters of this important subject. It seemed impossible to examine the evils of Ireland without inquiring into their causes. He feared he must trespass some time on the attention of the house. It might naturally be asked how, after so many hundred years connexion with this country, Ireland now remained in the same state which was complained of centuries ago? There must have been misgovernment: for there was no historical instance of two countries so long connected without an assimilation of manners and habits. Why was it different with respect to Ireland? The first inquiry into the state of Ireland was on the accession of James the First, by Sir John Davis, who took great pains to show that mutual interests were completely misunderstood. In his quaint language he said, that if you could not govern the Irish, nor conquer them by the sword, they would always have pricks in their ears, and thorns in their sides. In those days, if an Irishman was murdered by an Englishman, the punishment was five marks: if an Englishman was murdered by an Irishman, the punishment was death. The Irish, therefore, naturally considered the law only as the authority of an oppressive master. Sir J. Davis had stated that the English would not give the Irish the benefit of their laws; and he says he knew no nation who loved the dispensation of justice more than the Irish, if they were sure of protection. That was the principle on which Britons obeyed the laws. After that time, considerable confiscations took place in consequence of the rebellions of O'Niel and Desmond. When James I. undertook colonization in Ireland, though the measure was good in some respects, yet it proceeded too much on the principal of garrisoning the country, rather than of forming a connexion. This was a bad policy though the confiscations might be just and merited. Hence a natural animosity was created between the inhabitants and those who garrisoned the country. This was chiefly in Ulster; but, shortly afterwards, the other parts of the island were harassed by inquisitions into titles and other matters by the ministers of James, in order to seize the property. Subsequently to this, the unhappy disputes broke out in England, and Ireland fell unfortunately a victim to political intrigues. The royal agent persuaded the Irish into the forming of a royal army against the parliament. The arts of the Papists, and the intrigues of the nuncio, were particularly detrimental, and produced the most lamentable results and even the ruin of the country. At last Cromwell's conquering sword put down all opposition. A temporary tranquility ensued in England through the misconduct of the restored Stuarts; but it was far different in Ireland. Every thing was attempted by Shaftesbury and others against the Duke of Ormond, who was, however, one of the greatest men Ireland ever produced. After this, James II. took refuge in Ireland, and mis guided people sacrificed their English connexions to their mistaken loyalty, and were doomed to another struggle. With the revolution Great Britain commenced an age of freedom and glory; but was that the case with Ireland? Then commenced the penal code, so strongly condemned in a speech of Lord Camden, in the House of Lords, in 1714. The hon. bart. then noticed the unlucky circumstance connected with the affair of Wood's halfpence. He quoted the opinions of the first Lord Charlemont, why a country so large should produce so little, and make so slow a progress. He also quoted various passages from Bishop Boulter to Lord Carteret, and from Dean Swift, to show the wretched state of Ireland at that period. It was a Protestant parliament which took all these unjust and violent measures with regard to the adjustment of tithes, by which the prosperity of the nation was sacrificed to the interests and prejudices of the few. The temper with which it legislated was indeed made abundantly manifest, even in the less important of their proceedings. Among the variety of petitions which received at that time indulgence and respect, was one from a number of porters, who complained that a Catholic coal-merchant employed porters of his own persuasion, and praying that he should be compelled to employ Protestant porters. (*A laugh*). The house of commons not only ordered that this petition should lie on the table, but referred it to the committee of greivances. (*A laugh*). Was it surprising, that the consequence of this system should be an alienation of the people from their government, which had not even at this period ceased to exist? The English minister of that day did not fail to perceive, that a parliament, thus severed and disunited from their country, could not be a very strong parliament; and such was his opinion of it, that he was encouraged to attempt a measure which, if it had succeeded, would probably have prevented any future parliament from sitting in that country. This attempt was to get the supplies voted for 21 years, and it failed only by one vote. The parliament, during the reign of George II. sat for 33 years; and the effect was to paralyse the industry, and arrest the progress, of Ireland in the career of national prosperity for that period. Amidst all its demerits, however, it had the virtue of economy; for it paid off the whole debt of the country, and left a surplus in the year 1753 of 200,000l. With regard to this sum, there was a good deal of altercation among the members as to its disposal; but the English minister relieved them from this embarrasment, and a King's letter transferred the whole to the British treasury. This state of things continued with little interruption till 1778, when from the disasters of the American war, Ireland was left without any military force. The duty now devolved on her of protecting herself, and here commenced her era of glory. Ireland did protect herself, assumed her natural consequence, and having by her gallantry and concord acquired a title to respect, she demanded to be respected, and the English Government satisfied the demand. Before this, she had remained a province; she now rose to the rank of a nation, and advanced to this rank under the auspices of a person (Mr. Grattan), of whom, if he were not present, he should feel it his duty to say much; but with regard to whom he must be permitted to observe, that his name was connected with the brightest period of Irish history, and that, without his aid, that period might never have arrived, (*Hear, hear.*) But although the Irish parliament had thus achieved a victory over others, it had not learned to conquer itself. The Protestant population had not virtue or magnanimity enough to share the advantages they had obtained with the great body of the people. What followed, he hoped, would be an eternal lesson of the weakness of that policy which would exclude from the benefits of a free constitution any portion of the community, not to speak of the great bulk of the population. During the whole of that period of unanimity and triumph which he had described, the most perfect order and tranquillity prevailed, the laws were universally executed, and the voice of faction was no longer heard. Why should not the country resume that happy situation? Why should not the spirit and policy of the government there be assimilated to that of the government in this country? In England every man, however humble his condition, or whatever his political tenets, felt an interest in the constitution, and was in some degree an executioner of the laws, because he well knew that they were made, not for the few, but for the many, and that no rank or power could escape the consequences of their violation. He was sorry to say he could draw no such picture of the state of Ireland. Shortly after the brilliant epoch he had alluded to, many persons, not wishing well to the happiness of that country, began to endeavour at weakening those principles which they could not resist, and the satellites of an old and corrupt government hoped to reintroduce in its former latitude the system of exclusion and dependence. He could assure the house, it was his wish to abstain from all expressions which might have a tendency to inflame: but he could not refer back to the causes of an evil without stating his opinions unreservedly, and, whether speaking of persons since dead, or now living, he should take care to employ the language of crimination only where his public duty seemed imperatively to require it. With regard to the act of 1793, he was desirous of not mixing with the general discussion the question of Catholic emancipation, which certainly stood on its own separate grounds. He should here advert to it, therefore, only as one cause which operated to demoralize a community, by continuing in existence a criminal code which was already abolished in this country. Recurring to the act of 1793, there was good reason to believe that it was the intention of Mr. Pitt and the late Lord Melville to have extended the relief much further, if they had not been impeded by the Irish government. Upon what other principle indeed, was it possible to account for the anomalous nature of that statute, and the apparent capriciousness with which its provisions were framed, and its benefits distributed? Why, when the road to distinction was to a certain extent opened to the army, was it entirely closed against the bar? He knew of no other explanation than the circumstance that the Irish government was then under the direction of a noble person, (Lord Clare), who, finding that the policy of concession must be adopted, desired that at least his own profession might be left to himself. Thus was the cup dashed from the lips of the people and disappointment led to discontent, which, unhappily, combined with other causes, at length terminated in rebellion. Over this calamitous period it was his wish to draw a veil, and direct the attention of the house at once to the act of union; and to the constitution of the imperial parliament. The pledge necessarily involved in this measure was, that the united parliament would examine and redress the grievances of Ireland, for on no other principle could any Irishman have agreed to the surrender of his independent legislature. If the records of her history were searched, it would surprise the house to see how few were the acts of grace or favour which she had received; but he would rather call their recollection to the sacrifices which she had made, since the union, in finance, in exertions, and in blood. She had fought by our side, through all the battles in which we had been engaged, with a gallantry never surpassed. (*Hear, hear.*) She had expended 67 millions, or at the rate of 4½ millions, annually; whereas, before the union, her expenditure did not exceed a million and a half. Her taxation was thus trebled, and her entire exertions had greatly exceeded her strength. The debt was increased from 34 to 150 millions and the revenue, which but for these exertions, would have now been 10 millions was but 5,800,000l. It was under these circumstances that Ireland now claimed the performance of our part of the contract; and that we should inquire how it was that a country, seated in a temperate climate, with all the benefits of nature showered upon her, should be to us a source of alarm, instead of a pillar of strength. (*Hear, hear.*) How was it that it should be deemed necessary to treat her like a garrisoned town, and rest the dependence of security on an army of 25,000 men? He must say, that such a necessity could proceed only from a system of mis-government. (*Hear, hear.*) He had acquiesced in the temporary necessity of this force for punishing and putting down outrage; but he protested against the idea that this necessity was to be supposed permanent, or that such a system of government ought longer to continue without inquiry. If so, it was not 25,000 men, nor 50, nor 100,000 men, that could finally prevail over six millions of a proud and gallant people. After pouring out their blood so lavishly in the defence of the empire, they had a right to claim from our justice the same tranquillity and the same liberties which we ourselves enjoyed. The noble lord must well know the danger of delay in political questions of this nature, and feel that many desirable concessions might have been accomplished heretofore, with more ease and safety than at present. He was at the same time happy to admit, that since the act of union the commercial jealousy of this country had certainly been relaxed, and that in this respect Ireland had been considered as much a parcel of the empire as York or Devonshire. (*Hear, hear.*). But why, he would ask, while their illegality was acknowledged, were the orange societies suffered to exist? The attempt to introduce them into this country had been properly reprobated both by the noble lord and the right hon. the member for Liverpool: but why should they still be permitted to agitate the public mind in Ireland by the insulting badges of exclusive loyalty, and the commemoration of party-triumphs. The minister who did not use the strong arm of the law in extinguishing these seeds of disunion was guilty of a dereliction of his duty, which called for the interference of parliament. These professors of loyalty were too often those who protected illicit distillation, and thus threw the burthen of taxation on the other portion of the community, by assisting to defraud the revenue. He looked at this as a great evil, because it tended to disorganize the general system. If as he had heard, some of these persons were individuals of rank and power, he trusted that would show that no man was so high as to be beyond the reach of the law. He was sorry to say that a very recent statute had been enacted for the purpose of remitting heavy penalties after they had been levied on minor offenders, on the ground that they were so numerous in some counties as to render it impossible to exact them. The house would, he was sure, visit so monstrous a doctrine with the reprobation it deserved. With regard to the office of high sheriff, he should only say, that what was in this country a burthensome office, was in Ireland an object of contest, and was the means of alienating or attaching powerful individuals to the support of government. Here was an instance of a minister of justice entirely dependent in the favour of the government. It had been strongly but truly said in another house, that this office was so radically vicious as to poison the fountain of justice in its source. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) To the subject of grand juries he did not wish to advert, as that was likely to be brought under consideration in a distinct form. He must lament that it was too much the practice for many to seek and to find favour, by traducing three-fourths of their country. If he were asked why he had not brought forward this motion for inquiry at an earlier period, he should observe, that he had proposed, though without success, the same measure in 1804. From that time almost to the present moment, the arduous nature of the war we were engaged in, and the actual dangers of the country, rendered such a measure dangerous and impracticable: but, in ordinary times, he knew no danger so great as that of discontented subjects. If then, now, during the reign of profound tranquillity, the house should decide that no attempt was to be made to establish a better system, or to trace to their source those lamentable disorders which distracted the peace of Ireland, he should feel it his duty to bow to that decision, but he should deplore the day which united Ireland to this country. Never, he was firmly convinced, would a more favorable moment present itself, and it would be with unfeigned sorrow he should see it pass unprofitably away. One remedy had been much talked of—he meant the power of education. He hoped he carried his ideas of that power as far as any man who heard him; but he must be permitted to say, that, in comparison with the mass of this country, the Irish were not an uneducated people. Of this there was the fullest evidence in the reports before the house, by which it appeared, that if by education was meant the ability to read and write, it was already taught to the population of Ireland in a larger proportion than to that of this country. In Mr. Newnham's book—a book containing much valuable information—it was stated as the result of an accurate inquiry, that in a district comprehending about one half of the county of Cork, there were upwards of 300 unendowed schools, educating not less than 22,000 children. On this subject he would mention an anecdote highly honourable to a Catholic minister, a Mr. O'Brien, of Dunreagh, who had established a Catholic school, and endowed it with one-half of his whole private fortune, whilst he at the same time encouraged the establishment of a protestant school in the same neighbourhood by offering to subscribe a sum equal to any which the most liberal promoter of the object should contribute. Here was no disposition to proselytise,—here was real liberality; and he would say to the clergy of other churches, *Go and do likewise.* (*Hear, hear.*) His opinion then was that the remedy of education, as applicable to the existing state of Ireland, could not be a radical or effectual cure for the evils under which she laboured. He contended that education would be no cure for the political evils of Ireland, unless accompanied with a radical reform; and as the system under which Ireland was governed had been vicious for ages, it was the duty of parliament to look into the causes of all defects in that system, without any view of sacrificing the good of the public to the interest of a few individuals. He should move, therefore, that an humble address be presented to his royal highness the Prince Regent, representing that the necessity of keeping up an army of 25,000 men in time of peace obliged the house to consider the state of that country, which formed so considerable a portion of the empire, as afflicting and distressing in the highest degree; that the house was called by a sense of public duty to turn its attention to this subject, and prayed for such documents as might put it in possession of the extent and nature of the evils that existed, and lead to a thorough investigation into the causes that have produced them; that the house had furnished the executive with the necessary powers for the preservation of peace, and would now apply all its attention to the examination of evils, the causes that produced them, and the remedies that might be afforded, and for adopting such measures as might rescue that unhappy country from its present state of disorganization.

Mr. PEEL found it absolutely impossible to approach the present discussion, and all the important topics it embraced, without great anxiety and apprehension. His acknowledgments were due to the right hon. baronet for the general tone which he had adopted; for, with the exception of one or two points, he had avoided all party questions, and had attributed the disorders of Ireland to a general system, and not to this or that administration. He had, in fact, conferred a substantial benefit on Ireland, if it were only in setting the example of calling the legislature to that country without any mixture of party feeling. If Ireland were to be the theatre of political contention, it might indeed afford a victory to one party, or be the source of disappointment to another; but the consequence would only be desolation to the country. He should therefore follow the example of the right hon. bart., and in attempting to defend the government of Ireland, he should cautiously avoid any angry discussion. He certainly thought that the right hon. baronet had abandoned the intention of calling on the throne for information; for, before he condemned the conduct of government, he should have told the house the nature of his motion and have stated whether he wished for a select or a committee of the whole house, and what precise object such committee should have in view. As to one part of the address, he concurred with the right hon. bart., after voting 25,000 men, the situation of the country should be looked into; he should not avail himself of any technical objections, for he had no object in concealment. With the first part of the address, which went to express regret at that state of irritation which required such an army in time of peace, he entirely concurred, and did not think it possible the house could refuse to accede to such a sentiment. In regard to that part of the address which called for information as to the extent and nature of the disturbances that existed, he was ready to afford every information in his power; but the best information would be found in acts that had been passed on the subject, and the records of the various courts. He could not but think, however, as the right honourable baronet had called for this information, it would be precipitate in him (Mr. Peel) to pledge the house to any inquiry, without knowing the extent of the right hon. baronet's object. Did he wish for a select committee? Would he take into consideration the Catholic question? The right honorable baronet thought that question of such importance that it deserved a separate consideration. He (Mr. Peel) should think it impossible to give any immediate or effective remedy to the distress of Ireland, if he believed, with the right honorable baronet, that the country had been in a state of disorder for 600 years; if, by quotations from Dean Swift, he should exhibit the people as poor, degraded, and discontented: if he could show that, from the time of James the 2d this state of disorder had always prevailed, he should be unwilling to encourage the idea of any immediate relief; the state of things presented a Gordian which could not be cut, but which it would require years to unravel. He would now proceed to [illegible] nearly as he could, the present situation [illegible]. The provinces of the north were all tranquil[illegible]ed, perhaps, by the proceedings against illici[illegible]tion, but not by any political agitation, or by t[illegible]tion of any extraordinary measures of polic[illegible] west of Ireland was in a state of tranquility; s[illegible]

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the south, and so were the eastern provinces; that is, they were generally tranquil, and no extraordinary measures of police were adopted. The counties in which disturbances existed, and measures of severity were had recourse to, were Tipperary, King's county, Westmeath, and Limerick: but the magistrates of King's county had petitioned for a repeal of the act which authorized measures of severity, alleging that there was no further occasion for them: the state of West Meath and Limerick was improved, though the insurrection act was still in force. It was true that, since he last addressed the house on the subject, the magistrates of Louth had petitioned for the extension of the new police act to them; and the insurrection act was still in force in Cavan. In some counties the greatest violence existed between families and factions, arising from old or hereditary resentments, and not from any cause political or religious: he himself remembered two factions in Kilkenny, the Shaughnessites and the Callaghanites, who, without any object which he could discover, persecuted each other with the utmost rancour. In the counties in which insurrection prevailed, he could never ascertain any precise object of discontent, but a spirit of opposition against all law and order; no attack on Protestants, no spirit of dislike against the Catholics; but the records of the courts presented such scenes of ferocity, such perjury, as the annals of no age could equal. He did not rise to calumniate the lower orders of the Irish: he had been in counties where obedience was established, and which the venom of political writings had not pervaded, and it was impossible to see without admiration the peaceable and friendly deportment of the people. He believed there were among them great fidelity, great honesty, great chastity, from the prevalence of early marriages; and it was notorious that the Irish language had no name for some of the worst of crimes: but in other parts of the country the people were in a state of depravity that baffled all description, particularly in Tipperary; and if any one said he overstated the evil, that person he would immediately refute; he spoke, not from the information of individuals but from the records of courts of justice, from the verdicts of twelvemen indifferently chosen. There was one trial—that of the murderers of an upright and lamented magistrate (Mr. Baker)—of which, if any one would take the trouble to peruse the record it would show the true character of the country—the fidelity of the people in a bad cause, the eagerness and pertinacity with which they revenge an imaginary offence, and the facility with which they commit the crime of murder. It would appear by the record, that, this murder was planned several weeks before it was executed. The magistrate on whom it was committed was a mild benevolent man, a friend to the poor, but a determined enemy of that system which was hostile both to rich and poor. Under this system—that of the Whiteboys—a house had been burnt, and six persons convicted for the offence; upon which a general resolution was entered into to murder that individual who had undertaken the discovery of the offenders. Many parties were stationed on the road for the purpose of intercepting him; and the fact, when perpetrated, was conveyed from house to house by signals. The murder was committed by five individuals; and these facts were disclosed by a person who, resembling Mr. Baker, had at first been taken for him. He states that parties were placed on the roofs of houses, and on ricks, and that a general cheer was given when Mr. Baker fell. Although a reward of 13,000l. was offered by government and the gentlemen of the county, no satisfactory evidence could be procured, though the names of the murderers were well known all over the country: such was the fidelity of these misguided people in a bad cause. One man who, on the promise of a pardon, had given evidence after he was condemned, afterwards retracted it at the instigation of his wife, who fell on her knees to produce his recantation. She was not deemed deficient in regard for her husband, but the concern she felt for his character was the reason she implored him to submit to execution, rather than forfeit it in the esteem of his countrymen. He would now state what he conceived to be the cause of this spirit and these disorders. That invaluable treatise, the work of Sir John Davis, traced them from the earliest periods (and to the earliest periods we must recur to learn their origin), and attributed them to the impolicy of the original conquest of the country, which was not achieved at once, and at the head of a large army, but, as it were, by instalments. The consequences were, as might have been expected, an incessant state of rebellion, excited in the hope of throwing off a yoke so gradually imposed. Other writers had pointed out the same cause, and Spencer attributed the bad habits of the Irish to the impolicy of excluding them from the benefits of English law. One hundred customs are pointed out, the effects of which they deplore; and Sir J. Davis mentions, that, by the laws of the ancient Irish, murder was considered a venial offence, and was compounded by a fine. When a sheriff was formerly sent to the county of Fermanagh, the principal magistrate stated he should be glad to receive him, but begged to know the price of his head, that, in case of his murder, the sum might be levied on the district. There was more done for Ireland in the first nine years of the reign of James I. than in the 400 years preceding. It was not till the time of James I. that sheriffs or judges of assize were appointed. He had not gone to too remote a date in search of these facts, for the existence of nations was longer than that of individuals, and the events of a long period must comprise to form the basis of any accurate reasoning. At later periods than those he had mentioned, pernicious customs still prevailed; too great a power was lodged in the hands of individuals, and all tended to the unsettlement of the nation. Many of those causes of evil had now disappeared; but there were others that still existed, the animosity arising from confiscations of former days was an evil the house could not remove, and which time and education alone could remedy. At a later period unjudicious commercial restrictions had been imposed, of which that country felt to this day the baneful effects. It was no paradox to say that they had curtailed the wealth, at the same time that they had the effect of increasing the population of Ireland. It was impossible not to consider the proportion between the capital and the population of that country. The depriving Ireland of a market for her surplus produce had the effect of making land cheaper, and of causing it to be divided into small farms, because it was thought that the land would be rendered more productive by the care which a small occupier would be forced to bestow. The state of Ireland, therefore, was not at variance with the principles of writers on the subject of population. Its inhabitants were content with a scanty subsistence; & the means of acquiring land were so easy, that there was no check on the most early and improvident marriages. It became necessary to inquire into the mode of subsistence among the lower orders, which he had ascertained to be this—All labourers had a small portion of land, the rent of which they paid partly in money and in labour. If they gave four guineas for four acres, their wages were 10d. a day; if three guineas, 8d. and so on: that 10d. would provide much more for a labourer in Ireland than in England. He knew that their food was of an inferior quality, and he thought a change in this respect one of the first reforms ought to be introduced—namely, to give the labourers a taste for comforts enjoyed by persons of the same class in England, that this taste might operate as a check upon a too rapidly increasing population, by causing marriages to be postponed till some of those comforts could be secured. At present it was not in the power of the farmers to ameliorate the condition of their labourers, for the people had quite a distaste for the introduction of any thing like English order and cleanliness. The principal causes of evil he had already mentioned were deep-rooted or had altogether ceased, but he should now come to the discussion of causes which still existed, and for which he thought a some remedy might be found, and he felt as strong a disposition to adopt those remedies as the right hon. baronet himself could do. First, then, as to the appointment of sheriffs, in which a material reform might be introduced, the right honourable baronet did not overstate the evils resulting from the present mode. He held in his hand the evidence that had been given on this subject before a committee up stairs; but though the mode of appointment might be improved, yet the practical evils had not been great. Col. Crosby, Lord Jocelyn, Lord Rochford, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, Sir J. Newport, Gen. Archdall, and others, were examined. The practice had been to refer to a county member to recommend a sheriff. The evidence of Sir H. Parnell stated, that he was member for Queen's county, and usually voted against government. When asked whether his voice was required in the appointment of sheriffs, he replied, yes, when he was in office. He (Mr. Peel) should be ashamed if he felt averse to any change merely because he had acquiesced in measures: but the mode of appointing sheriffs was not attributable to this administration or that; & as to the effects, Sir H. Parnell said that no abuse had taken place in his county, though it had in others. Sir J. Newport, in his evidence, stated, he represented a city where the sheriffs were appointed in another manner, and when asked whether this was a greater grievance, replyed, no doubt! Gen. Archdall thought that no great abuse had prevailed. He (Mr. Peel) therefore concluded, that no great practical inconvenience had ever arisen; and, considering the different state of society in different places, inferior agents must sometimes be selected for the administration of justice. The right hon. gen. here entered into a more detailed explanation of the manner in which the sheriffs were appointed. It was the custom for the barons of the exchequer and the judges to consider the qualifications of persons fit for executing the office of sheriff, and to recommend three for each county to the lord chancellor, who laid the list before the lord-lieut. out of which he selected one. This was, in his opinion, the best practice that could be adopted. Having said thus much of the sheriffs, he should next advert to another part of the right honourable baronet's speech that referred to the magistracy. A general revision of the magistracy had been recommended, but that was a measure which, in his opinion, was impracticable. He had been led to entertain this conviction, after the maturest consideration, and the most deliberate inquiry. Complaints of the conduct of magistrates, he was willing to allow, were very general: they had reached the ears, and called forth the censures, of those who were strangers to the other peculiarities of Ireland. In this country there was always a comparison instituted between the practice of Great Britain and that which prevailed in Ireland; and the comparison was found to be to the disadvantage of the latter. He deprecated such a mode of procedure, without an ample allowance for all the circumstances in which the two countries differed. In Ireland the lord Chancellor appointed the magistrates, either upon a recommendation from the lord-lieut. of the county in which they were to exercise their functions, from the member of parliament for the county, the judges, or the sheriff. The lord-chancellor, who could not be supposed to have local information of his own sufficient for the exercise of this authority, was obliged to depend upon the opinions and the local knowledge of others. In England they were appointed differently—In England they could not be removed without the judgement of a court of law passed against them for maladministration. Here again, the case was different in Ireland. If the chancellor did not take the opinions of those who were best qualified to decide on the qualifications of the persons fittest for the magistracy from their local knowledge, upon what criterion would it be proper for him to proceed in reforming or establishing it. Would it be wise to fix upon property as the criterion? There might be reasons against the appointment of some individuals, and in favour of others, not referable to their wealth or circumstances. Upon a view of the whole subject, he was convinced that a general revision of the magistracy at present might be productive of positive injustice, without leading to any practical good; and he was the more confirmed in his opinions, as he was supported in it by the authority of the head of that department. He came now to that part of the right honourable mover's speech which had a more immediate reference to government, and to evils in which the influence of governments might be supposed capable of being exerted with beneficial effects. The right hon. bart, he thought, was wrong, both in his judgment with regard to the extent of animosities existing in the disturbed districts, with regard to their cause, and the power of government, to remove them. He believed the societies, and party animosities, said to harass the county of Tipperary, did not exist; but continued the right hon. baronet, if they do exist, why not put an end to them by prohibiting the celebration of particular days, or the observation of particular distinctions? In his (Mr. Peel's), opinion this could not be effectually done, however desirous government might be to accomplish it. Government might prevent the administration of an illegal oath, and other dangerous acts: but it could not allay the animosities of hostile sects, or prevent the indulgence of party hatred. There were a thousand ways in which irritation might spread, in which the inflamed feelings of the people might operate, over which government had no control. Complaints on this subject he had often heard, and he lamented as much as any man the grounds of them: but he was persuaded that no remedy could be immediately effective, and he would advise the right honourable baronet to dismiss the ill-founded expectation from his mind. In matters like this the government could do little, but that little they had attempted with zeal. They had left no means untried for obtaining so desirable a result. He might mention a remedy which, if it existed in the power of the government, he thought would be more effectual than any other that could be mentioned—he alluded to the residence of landlords on their estates, which, it was well known, could not be reformed by executive authority, but which, if it could be obtained, would go a great length to promote the happiness and to improve the condition of the Irish. A body of landed proprietors, attentive to the state of their peasantry, ready to interfere in the settlement of their disputes, and vigilant in repressing their excesses, would act a thousand ways in promoting the peace and order of their neighbourhood. Whatever Government could do in allaying party irritation had been done, as might be shown, besides their attention to other objects, by appealing to the anxiety with which they had endeavoured to prevent the playing of party tunes, which was complained of as a means of keeping alive party inflammation. A general order had been issued to brigade majors of the yeomanry in the summer of 1814, commanding them to prohibit, , in their corps the indulgence of a practice that had a tendency to foster and keep alive animosities which the peace and wellbeing of society required to be abolished. He had only two more points to which he should call the attention of the house. However long he had already claimed the indulgence of the house, he could not pass over them without some observations. The first to which he would advert was the state of the press in Ireland, and the effects it was calculated to produce upon an irritated and turbulent people. Among a population such as that of which Ireland consisted, the force of this engine was incalculable, and its tendency was to produce mischief. He was not disposed to undervalue the general advantages of a free press on the ordinary circumstances of society; he allowed the full extent of its power, when wisely directed, in enlightening mankind, in diffusing science and information, in instructing men in their rights, in exalting their character, and improving their condition; but there were modes of conducting it which rendered its influence pernicious in proportion as it was extensive. In Ireland he regretted to state that its tendency was frequently evil, and that its mischievous effect were so great as to render it doubtful whether its freedom were really a blessing. It was employed in attempts to promote inflammation, to disseminate falsehood, to give currency to slander, calumny, and abuse, against every thing wise in political institutions, or venerable in public character. It vented its abuse on the government as tyrannical and unjust, it reviled the law of the land, it endeavoured to excite discontent, and to inflame discontent into rebellion, calling upon those, over whom its influence extended, to commit offences for which they suffered the penalties of the law. These poor creatures were told, and believed, the most irritating falsehoods, and were goaded on to the commission of crime by the exasperating stimulants applied to their passions. They were taught to regard government as another name for oppression—directed to the magistrates as their enemies—led to believe the most infamous reports of the most virtuous characters, and to distrust the kindness of their natural protectors. The right honourable gentleman believed that much of the turbulence, disorder, and atrocity that existed in Tipperary, might be traced to libels upon the government, the magistrates, and the courts of justice. The press had operated such extensive evils in some repects, that they even more than overbalanced its beneficial results in others. Such was the activity with which it was wrought in the cause of disorder—such was the currency that it gave to the slander against every exalted character—such was the malignity of the poison that it diffused, that in Ireland it became a positive evil. It left no motive for virtue, as it exposed it to the greatest obloquy; and public opinion, being, so often misled, could no longer be depended on. Being directed against all indiscriminately, it ceased to affect any, and praise and censure lost their power. The house must not form its opinion of the state of the press in Ireland, or the licentiousness in which it indulges, from what they witness in this country. The sophistry of reasoning, the futility of charge, the malignity of slander, which distinguished the Irish press, would be almost incredible, if it were not so generally known, and so much to be deplored. He held in his hand a publication from which he would beg leave to read a passage to the house, to establish the character he had here bestowed upon the licentiousness of the press in Ireland. The publication in itself was too contemptible to be mentioned for any other purpose but as a proof of those malignant falsehoods which it attempted to spread, and which it supposed the people ignorant, enough to believe. The passage he would read was to be found in the Hibernian Magazine, and referred to the late reported persecution of the Protestants in the South of France. It ran thus: "If the pious Britons feel such sympathy for the situation of a few people in a foreign country, let them not refuse a portion of it to the people of their own empire—let them extend it to the persecuted Irish; for more Irish Catholics have been murdered by Protestants since May 1814, than there were Protestants destroyed by the Catholics in France since the revocation of the edict of Nantz." This was the information that this writer thought it proper to give to his countrymen to enlighten them on the character of their government. A greater or more malignant falsehood, as the house knew, could not be conceived, and had never been uttered. The people in Ireland were not naturally inclined to disorder or turbulence, but they were industriously excited to criminal acts by criminal writings. The next thing to which he would advert, was the use of the elective franchise. He would not contend that the privilege granted in 1793 should be recalled, or should have been withheld, but he thought it a very equivocal boon. Neither the good nor the evil anticipated from it had been realized, but evils had resulted that were not forgotten, and that called loudly for a remedy. The advantages that the freeholders would derive from the measure, in giving them an interest in the state, and attaching them to their superiors in fortune, were greatly magnified; but these advantages had not been reaped by the possessor of the freehold, but by the possessor of the freeholder. The elective franchise had added another cause to those already existing in the Irish character to promote perjury and falsehood. The freeholders often claimed to vote without the necessary qualification; they swore to leases they never saw, & to the possession of property they never entered. It might here be asked, why then not commit them for purjury? The answer was plain: if they were committed, they would be bailed, would make their escape, and evade discovery. No one who considered these things could refrain from expressing a wish to see the elective franchise regulated, although none might go the length of proposing to take it away. On the Catholic question he would make no remark, although he was free to say that the concession of the Catholic claims would not allay the animosities that unhappily prevailed, and that, whatever effect in this way concession might produce, he was not of opinion that it would be safe or politic to make it. There was one remedy, to which he had formerly alluded—the residence of landlords on their estates; that would, in his opinion, be much more efficacious, if it was in the power of government to apply it. Ireland was in that state when a kind indulgent, and an enlightened body of landed proprietors, residing among the tenants, would produce incalculable benefits. Kindness always went farther than coercion. The people could not understand the principles of government, but they would submit to the laws of order when exemplified in conduct, and dictated by a benevolent regard to their welfare. With respect to education in Ireland, the right hon. bart. had mistaken what he had formerly stated. He (Mr. Peel) never contended that education could do all, or that it would of itself either communicate habits of industry or supply their place; but he always thought that it would do much, and that it was necessary to secure any advantages which might be derived from the employment of other means. If government could not effect an immediate change, it should at least sow the seeds of future reform. The Irish had the germ of great moral and intellectual qualities, and their minds merely required cultivation to render them orderly and enlightened. He would conclude by expressing his admiration of the generous character of the Irish, and of the courage, disinterestedness, and fidelity which they always displayed, and by declaring that his attachment to that people would long continue after all official connection between him and their country had ceased. (*Hear hear.*) The amendment he would propose was that, leaving out all the latter part of the original motion, the motion should run thus:—that an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, expressing the regret of the house that the disturbed state of Ireland rendered so great a military force in that part of the united kingdom necessary, and entreating him to lay before the house a full statement of those disturbances, and the plans put in execution by his Majesty's government to repress them.

Upon the question being put on the amendment,

Mr. PLUNKETT rose to deliver his sentiments on the question before the house. His right hon. friend (Sir J. Newport) had brought forward a great question treating not only on the interest of this or that part of the empire, but affecting the security and welfare of the whole. He had shown such treasures of historical information, and such an intimate acquaintance with constitutional doctrines, and he had laid the whole of his statements before the house with such accuracy, judgment, and moderation, that he should not find it necessary to trespass long on the patience of the house.

He would endeavour to follow, in the observations he had to make, the tone of moderation pursued by his right hon. friend on which he was so complimented by the right hon. gentleman opposite; and if any expression fell from him of a different tendency and character, he hoped it would not be attributed to deliberate intention, or the effect of party spirit. Such weighty interests as he had to discuss allowed no room for the indulgence of the vulgar spirit of party. (*Hear.*) Last year the insurrection act was passed, and though he was not present, he had no hesitation in saying, that if he had been so, he would have supported the measure, although it did go the length of suspending the enjoyment of the constitution during the period in which it remained in force. In 1796, and on other occasions, similar acts had been passed, but they were seldom enforced. It was now two months, however, since the right hon. gentleman who was the author of this measure last session, had mentioned to the house the necessity of carrying it into execution. The county of Tipperary, and that of West Meath, were disturbed, and the country was in such a state as to render a military force of 25,000 men necessary for suppressing the spirit of revolt and tumult. Soon afterwards two other counties were added to this mass of confusion and disorder, and now there were no fewer than six declared in a state of disturbance. The military force was increased, but the evils were not diminished; tumult and disorder were rather augmented than suppressed; and he would tell the right honourable gentleman, that if matters did not soon change, 40,000 men would be found insufficient to perform the duty for which 25,000 were now deemed adequate. This was such an alarming state of things, that it could receive no aggravation from fancy—could admit of no additional colouring from fear or apprehension. It pressed upon the house with a weight of interest which no consideration could increase. The natives of Ireland were celebrated for their gratitude for benefits conferred—their fine and ardent feelings were almost proverbial—nor could slight injuries rouse them to revenge; the present deplorable state of that country showed, therefore, indisputably, that some intrinsic vice was in the government, which must be removed before tranquillity was restored. He was not aware that the right honourable gentleman had proposed any remedies for the evils; or, if the topics to which he had adverted were thrown out as intended remedies, he (Mr. Plunkett) was sincerely thankful that they had not yet been carried into effect. One of those topics was the absentees, and the other the forty-shilling freeholders; as to the first, the right hon. gentleman had not hinted at any positive enactment, contenting himself with arguments and persuasion; but, giving all credit to his eloquence (of which he possessed no inconsiderable share) it might fairly be doubted whether it would be effectual in inducing the Irish gentry to reside on their estates.

If it were his design to propose the repeal of the union, to restore to Ireland her parliament, and with it the rank and wealth of which she had been deprived, the discussion regarding absentees might properly forerun such an alteration; but while that union continued no wise statesman would enter into a debate on that subject, (*Hear, hear.*) In point of fact, the disturbance most prevailed in those parts of the country where the largest number of resident gentry were to be found; so that even the enforcement of residence would not afford any such remedy as the right hon. gent. imagined. As to the second topic—freeholders to the value of 40s,—he (Mr. Plunkett) doubted whether he had correctly understood the right hon. gent. when he spoke of the act of 1793 as creating these franchises. Mr. PEEL observed, that he had referred to the act of 1793, not as creating the franchises, but as extending them, they having been previously confined to Protestants.

Mr. PLUNKETT did not wish to fasten upon the right hon. gentleman any position he had not taken, but he understood him to state that the act of 1793 communicated to Roman Catholic free holders the privileges of the English constitution, as far as related to voting at elections! and that, in consequence of certain abuses, it would be fit to take away that privilege, and to disfranchise them. In the present alarming state of Ireland, if the right hon. gent. wished to employ a firebrand to produce an explosion more terrible them any hitherto felt, where would he find one more effectual for his purpose than in the disfranchishment of the Catholic freeholders? (*Hear.*) Mr. PEEL begged the indulgence of the hon. member, while he repeated shortly what had fallen from him on this point. He had never suggested for a moment that the act of 1793 should be repealed, but had only complained of great abuses to which it had been liable: his wish was, that the Catholic freeholder should enjoy all his rights without the opportunities for perjury and immorality afforded by the act: if it were expedient to protect the individual *bonafide* entitled to the franchise, it was not less fit that fictitious claims to it should be defeated.

Mr. PLUNKETT expressed his regret at having, in common with many others, misapprehended the right hon. gent. Whatever amendment of this law floated in his mind he could not seriously urge it as a measure calculated to pacify the discontents prevailing in all parts of Ireland. Nothing had been said by the right hon. gentleman on the subject of magistracy and other important points, though, with respect to sheriffs, a change was to be introduced from which some advantages would result, which the country would gratefully acknowledge as far as they went; but if the right hon. gentleman imagined that such paltry regulations would have any general operation, he would find himself grievously mistaken: if Ireland, from one end to the other, was in a state of ferment, as was admitted by the other side, of what consequence was it, whether the appointment of the sheriff were made by the judges or by the county member? The great remedy upon which the right hon. gent. seemed chiefly to rely, was an improvement in the education of the lower orders, the great benefit of which was the more direct communication between the higher and lower ranks of society. If by education, however, the right hon. gent. merely meant reading, writing, and arithmetic, he (Mr. Plunkett) protested that he thought the poorer class in Ireland better educated, than the poorer class in England, and comparing the soldiers of the two countries, or any other bodies such would be found the fact. But to speak of reading, writing, & arithmetic as the education of a people, was a gross & childish misapplication of the term: the education of the people flowed from the government—from that paternal care with which a good government watched the administration of the law, (*Hear hear*). What, in England, produced that cheerful submission to the laws which befitted a free nation and an enlightened government, but the confidence with which every Englishman looked up to the law as the protector of his privileges, of the liberties that were his birthright. He felt that he was a sharer in the distribution of justice, and that those more immediately engaged in its administration were but partners with him in the commonwealth. (*Hear.*) It was this that secured happiness and tranquillity to England; and if this system of education were introduced into Ireland, she would hail it as a boon: the mere knowledge of arithmetic and reading would do nothing to allay the angry feelings of the natives; it would rather give them new grounds of discontent: for by arithmetic they would be taught how to calculate the property of which they

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had been deprived, and by reading to value the liberty they were never to enjoy. (*Hear, hear*). The reference made by the hon. bart. (Sir J. Newport) to the legislature of Persia was fully borne out by the facts: the education of the people of Ireland was to be enforced by the bayonet; and a soldier, returning from the education of one generation, was to superintend the instruction of another. There seemed no end to this system of military oppression; it must be a growing drain upon England, and an increasing weight upon Ireland; for if 25,000 men were necessary this year, 40,000 would be required for the next: for as the evil could not remain stationary, the means of quelling it must also be progressive. The house would shrink from its duty if it did not interfere to protect a suffering people from domiciliary visits, from summary transportation, and military domination. The object of the amendment was to prevent all inquiry into causes or remedies, while ministers were not unwilling that parliament should be informed of the whole extent of the disturbances from authority, when no such intelligence was needed, the whole country being possessed of all the alarming facts. The insurrection act, and the military force, were the only whole remedies proposed on the other side, without investigation; he was a bold man who suggested remedies to such evils; but he was not bold, but a desperately infatuated man, who continued to Ireland the curse of the present measures. He again put the question to the other side, whether any remedy of any description was in contemplation on the other side? From the silence of ministers he was led to conclude that exile and death were the only instruments they intended to employ in promoting tranquillity, (*Hear hear*). The state of Ireland was a sort of Gordian knot which they could not untie, and refused the aid of parliament, whose duty was to interpose in behalf of a suffering people. Although he did not mean now to discuss the Catholic question, he felt himself bound in candour to say a few words upon it expressive of his feelings. He was persuaded that the concession of that point upon such terms as would give security to the Protestants, while if satisfied the Catholics, would considerably aid any efforts for the reestablishment of order: he did not mean that it would operate as a charm to hush all disquiet: but after the most deliberate reflection, he had come to a conclusion, that it was a *sine qua non* upon this subject, and that no system of measures, however moderate, could be effectual without it. (*Hear, hear*). He would not pretend to take upon himself the task of suggesting remedies, but he would point out a few of the causes that had contributed to the present calamitous situation of Ireland. In speaking of them he declared that he felt no personal animosities to any member of the Irish government; on the contrary, for the lord-lieutenant, and for his friend at the head of the law department, he entertained the highest respect. It was a fact admitted on all sides, that there were in Ireland a number of discontented agitators, but there was also a large proportion of the Catholics who were only anxious to pursue objects of laudable ambition by legitimate means, and who were not to be confounded with those unprincipled agitators. These Catholics it was the duty of a wise government, not acting in the narrow spirit of Protestant ascendancy, to conciliate, for the more effectual check of the disturbance; but he put it to the right hon. gentleman whether a single step had been taken for that purpose. (*Hear, hear.*) The state of the press in Ireland had been referred to, and no man could deny that it was most licentious, having been made the instrument of wild demagogues to advance their own projects of ambition. But was this all? Had it not been also most unjustifiably employed on the other side? Had not those papers, which were paid highly for the insertion of government proclamations, been made the vehicles of the most scandalous, malignant, and indiscriminate libels upon the whole Catholic body: (*Hear, hear.*) Was this dealing fairly by the people of Ireland, distracted by political and religious differences? He did not accuse the government of encouraging these disgraceful practices, but he complained that it had not interfered to control them. The orange societies were another source of the present evils, in speaking upon which the right hon. gentleman, without his usual candour had perverted the argument of the hon. bart; the objection to them was not that they celebrated anniversaries, or that they played particular tunes, but that they were societies exclusively Protestant, bound by an illegal oath to continue the allegiance only so long as the king supported what they termed a Protestant constitution. What steps would not the right hon. gentleman have thought it right to take, had Catholics been so illegally united for the purpose of supporting only a Catholic sovereign? It was no answer to state that the orange societies would be punished when their acts were illegal, for their very constitution was a breach of the law, for which they were amenable. It might be true that the evil was less among the higher classes; but among the lower these associations of Protestants degenerated into the most brutal and offensive assertion of superiority over the whole Catholic body. Another point likewise deserved notice. It would not be denied, that of all people the Irish were most subject to the influence of priesthood, and the first act of a prudent government would have been to establish with that priesthood an amicable connexion; yet no attempt of the kind had been made; on the contrary in the only instance that had occurred, they had given, as it were, designed offence to that very respectable body. A priest of the county of Limerick had been instrumental in quelling a disturbance, for which a letter of thanks from the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) was sent to him; but, before it could reach his hands, it was published in the newspapers, and this reverend gentleman was thus held up to the suspicion of all his fraternity and his flock as a person aiding the tyrannical purposes of government. There were many important differences between the present and former disturbances: from the highest authority it had been stated, that within the last 50 years the commerce of Ireland had doubled, her agricultural produce had increased fourfold, and her population had trebled. Thus it appeared that she was capable of becoming the dangerous rival or the powerful friend of England: a gigantic form was rising at the side of Great Britain, and the question now was, whether it should be converted into a friend or an enemy. Sixteen years had elapsed since the union had professed to give to Ireland the benefits of the British constitution, yet now that constitution was to be suspended, and the natives were to be deprived of its benefits. What would be thought of a proposition of the like kind with respect to any portion of Great Britain, however small? and yet upon the whole of Ireland this calamity was to be inflicted almost without repugnance. Such a state of things, such gross injustice and inequality, could not be endured with patience, and the longer the system was pursued, the greater would be the evil to be remedied. It was erroneous in point of expenditure: the whole military force must be paid by this country, for Ireland could not produce any revenue, in consequence of the miscalculation at the union as to the contribution she was to provide. Her debt, since 1800, had increased fourfold, no part of which was expended in the country, as was the case in England. On the whole view of the case the only advice he (Mr. *Plunkett*) would take upon himself to give ministers was, that they should retrace as exactly as possible the steps they had pursued in the government of Ireland: instead of establishing themselves on the narrow, odious, principle of Protestant exclusion, which kept alive the spirit of dissension, he recommended them to adopt measures calculated to secure the union and happiness of all classes.

Mr. PEEL, in explanation, denied that his letter of thanks to the Catholic priest had been published with his knowledge or consent.

Mr. FITZGERALD was at a loss to understand how the amendment precluded inquiry into the causes of, and remedies for, the evils of Ireland: on the contrary he thought that the very request of information might lead to some further proceedings. He denied that the disturbances had originated in the measures of the present government: they were the growth of ages, for which concession to the Catholics could not be even a partial remedy. There was one point to which the right hon. baronet had adverted—namely, the grand jury system of presentments. Now he (Mr. F.) believed that on this subject there was but one common feeling both in the government and in the country; and that was, that the system should be reformed. A committee of the house had sat and collected much information upon it; and it was not, he believed, the wish of his majesty's ministers to oppose any feasible measures that this intelligent committee might suggest. Of the system itself he would say, that though wise in principle, yet unfortunately, many impurities had grown up in its administration. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Plunkett) had asked, what were the measures of remedy that government meant to propose though he himself in the same breath acknowledged that he knew of no species that would answer the purpose. He asked, had his right honourable friend only education to recommend as the panacea—an education which would enable the peasant to count that property which he could not enjoy, and read of laws whose benefits he was not to possess? but the hon. gent. might have known that 7,000*l.* were granted by parliament last year for the encouragement of a society, not formed on the principles of religious proselytism, but whose object was to diffuse education among all religous persuasions without distinction. One object of this society was to breed up teachers, who might be placed in different parts of the country, and disseminate books and education very different from those pestilential writings that were at present diffused among the lower orders. In one province of Ireland alone, 150 schools had been established under this society, the teachers of which being in a great degree independent, they would not be under the necessity of pandering to the base passions of the people. There was one subject, that of tithes, which was peculiarly important in Ireland, because they were paid in great part by persons who did not profess the established religion. He had always voted for a committee to inquire into the practicability of the commutation of tithes whenever that topic had been brought before the house, though he confessed he had never yet seen any practicable plan suggested for that purpose. He felt confident that government would not object to the discussion of such a plan. With respect to the state of that part of the population of Ireland that was connected with its agriculture, it could not be denied that they had no reason to complain of parliament, as was shown in the corn regulations of last year, and more recently in the disposition displayed by the house to give a protecting encouragement to Irish butter. Neither could it be forgotten, that, so recently as last night, the motion for a committee to inquire into the transit duty on foreign linens was rejected, principally from a regard to the interests of the Irish manufacturer. He conceived, therefore, that parliament were not justly chargeable with any neglect of the interests of the population of Ireland. With respect to the peasantry of Ireland, there were two points which he would shortly advert to. The one was the difficulty under which they laboured of recovering their just debts by legal process. The expenses of the higher law courts were so great as to be quite beyond their reach, and it was for this reason that an act of parliament had been passed enabling the assisting barristers at the different quarter sessions to decide in all causes below 20*l.* They decided no less than 50,000 causes in the course of a year, at an expense of 10*s.* each: and he (Mr. F.) should wish that their powers were extended to all causes below 50*l.* Another point was the house-duty, to which even the meanest cottage was subjected. When the Irish budget came to be discussed, he should have to propose that no house-duty whatever should be paid by the lower classes of the people. He should on that occasion also have to recommend that the hearth-duty should be taken off all houses that had not three hearths. It would afford him satisfaction to relieve the peasantry from these duties, which were more oppressive in their collection than productive in their amount. Sure he was that these were no inconsiderable benefits, and at any rate they afforded an indication of its being the wish of government to try conciliatory measures. After some other observations, the honourable member declared his intention of voting for the amendment, because it did not pledge him to resist inquiry, and because it offered to the house all the information which it was in the power of government to give respecting the nature and extent of the disturbances which prevailed in Ireland.

Mr. DAWSON spoke from under the gallery in a tone of voice which prevented us from hearing much of what fell from the hon. gent. He had no idea that the evils under which Ireland laboured were to be healed by the panacea of a single measure. The black catalogue of her calamities was too numerous to admit of one specific remedy. He spoke of the advantages which Ireland possessed in the fertility of its soil, the temperature of its climate, its numerous harbours, and the physical capacities of its people; and yet its history had been an almost continued series of revolutions and misfortunes, with the exception of that brilliant period when her parliament was illustrated by the brilliant eloquence of a right hon. gent. opposite. He regretted, as one great cause of the evils under which Ireland laboured, the assiduity of a band of agitators, who worked upon the bigotry of the people, and on their passions by a licentious eloquence. As a resident in that country, he had witnessed the baneful effects. In the county which he had the honour to represent, they had been but too successful in disjoining the Catholics and the Protestants. He had little hesitation in asserting, that little would be gained by what was called Catholic emancipation. A few Catholics might be conciliated, but the great majority would still remain under the influence of priests and agitators. He concluded with signifying that he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. GRATTAN said, that the question now before the house was undoubtedly complicated in its nature; but still it appeared capable of being reduced under a few heads, to which he should shortly advert. The first was the disunion of Catholics and Protestants, the 2d was the financial distress of Ireland; 3dly, its commercial and agricultural distress; and 4thly, the existence of insurrection in various parts of the country. And, 1st, with regard to disunion between Catholic and Protestant. Here the main object was to obtain the identification of interests. In order to this, you must put an end to religious disunion, for no man could say, that if there was an exclusive religion, there could be an identification of interests. 2dly, With regard to the financial distress of Ireland, it was undeniable that it was almost beyond conception. Her expenditure had outshot her means, for she had a debt of 150 millions, burthened with an interest of 7 millions, while her revenue did not exceed 6 millions; so that for the maintenance of her establishments she had absolutely nothing. Difficult as this situation was, he did not despair of its being relieved. He had no despondency as to the resources of the British empire; he had rather the highest confidence in them. This country must consider the financial abilities of Ireland as well as the services she had performed, and had the means of remedying her financial difficulties entirely in her own hand. He would suggest, therefore, such a financial arrangement between the two countries as would enable both to contribute to their mutual relief. The exertions of Ireland in the late war demanded this. Thirdly, with regard to the commercial distresses of Ireland, neither on that head was he inclined to despond. As the most effectual means of relieving them, she should receive a constant preference over foreigners in the British market; and this was only reciprocity; for Ireland, even when she had a parliament of her own, had shown a constant preference for British manufactures. It should be the business of a wise administration to apply relief where relief was really applicable. As to the insurrections which had unfortunately broken out in Ireland, they might be speedily put down by a certain degree of mildness—by the means of a free constitution—by the pure and impartial administration of justice. The very criminal who suffered under the law must then acknowledge the necessity of his condemnation. Ireland had contributed very much to the decided superiority which this country had attained over the nations of the world, and, as a great part of a great empire, it was the duty of the legislature to adopt every measure that might tend to ameliorate her distresses. She had, in fact, enabled England to carry Europe through chaos, and we owed her a large debt of gratitude. The right honourable gentleman then adverted to former periods of Irish history, contrasting them with the present situation of that country, and concluded with expressing his conviction that the difficulties which stood in the way of our prosperity might be easily overcome.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, it must be the subject of particular gratification to the house to see the temper and moderation with which this debate had been conducted. The right hon. gent. had on this, as on former occasions, viewed the question with the eye of a statesman; and when the house remember'd what he had predicted of the fate of Ireland, they must acknowledge that he had shown himself a true prophet. He did not despair, however, that remedies might be applied to all the evils with which that part of the empire was afflicted: and, with respect to the motion then before the house, it appeared to the noble lord, that if there were not a substantial preference to the address which had been moved, they would not be pressed to a division. The noble lord trusted that the right honourable gentleman would be more disposed to yield the question to his right honourable friend, as the only true and practical ground; for if it should be conceived that the force provided for Ireland was absolutely necessary for the safety and welfare of that island, he should be glad to know what real benefit could be derived from the proposed inquiry? The whole object of the address, so far as it related to remedies, was in union with the sentiments of his right honourable friend. He was the more desirous of avoiding an express deliberation on the subject of the Catholic claims, as in a former parliament there was a declaration that they would take them into consideration. It certainly happened that parliament did not carry that resolution into effect, and, therefore, he wished to avoid general pledges on that question, which would only commit the house, and hold out promises to the people of Ireland which might not perhaps be performed. It was extremely satisfactory to observe, from all that had fallen in the course of the debate, that there was no imputation on the present government of Ireland. Whatever might be the political feelings or opinions of any particular individual, no charge had been brought against the system of administration which the lord-lieutenant had felt it his duty to adopt. That noble person had been called upon to direct the helm of state at a very critical period and under the most eventful circumstances; but it had not been stated in any quarter, that he had either delayed the course of justice, or exercised the powers of his office with unbecoming severity. He believed, indeed, that all classes and distinctions of persons would acknowledge the integrity of his lordship's administration. The gentleman on the other side had manifested an equal spirit of moderation, and taken the same liberal views with respect to the commercial, financial, and agricultural distresses of Ireland. In regard to what he conceived it necessary to say on the subject of Catholic emancipation, he thought it would be most important that the British empire should put itself above all religious prejudice. In order to make the British government beloved in Ireland, we ought to frown down the littlenesses of both parties, and consult the general and permanent interests of the community. The subject of Catholic emancipation ought not to be a question of government. There was a time when he thought a favourable feeling was rapidly increasing in this country, but it had been unfortunately dashed by the conduct of the Catholics themselves. He did not conceive, however friendly as he ever had been to that question, that the removal of Catholic penalties would relieve Ireland from all the distresses under which she laboured; still less did he think that any practical benefits could be derived from the present motion, and he should therefore vote for the amendment of his right hon. friend.

Mr. PONSONBY, in rising to deliver his sentiments on this important subject, wished to call the attention of the house to the real question before it, as it appeared to him that the debate had for some time wandered from the point. The address called on the crown to lay before parliament the nature, extent, and causes of the distressed situation of Ireland: the amendment only proposed that which the house already knew from the papers which had been laid before it, and which every individual might have read in the public journals. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) did not think it would be wise to examine into the state of Ireland; and the house had heard that night the most discordant opinions on that subject which most engaged the attention of the Irish. The sentiments of two members of his Majesty's government were in direct opposition to each other: the right hon. gent. had declared, that it would be extremely improper to grant the Catholic claims, while the noble lord, the secretary of state for the foreign department, had expressed the most friendly disposition to that measure. How could Ireland be tranquil under a government of this nature? How could the people place any confidence in an administration composed of such members? One officer of the crown raised the most flattering hopes, while another dashed them to the ground. It was impossible that any country on the face of the earth could be tranquil under such circumstances. It was impossible to speak upon the subject of the grievances suffered by the people of Ireland, without at the same time touching upon the question of Catholic emancipation. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel) had declared, that these sufferings were only temporal, and that Ireland would be relieved from the many burthens which pressed upon that unhappy country. He (Mr. P.) would fairly and openly give his opinion upon the subject. He condemned as much as any man some of the proceedings of the Catholics of Ireland; but, speaking of the whole mass of the population, in the language of a statesman, he should belie his own judgment if he did not distinctly tell the minister his own decided and unalterable opinion that, under the present system of government as directed towards Ireland, subjecting its people to the humiliating condition of being obliged to submit to military despotism, never would the object so much desired be accomplished. If the same measures were pursued, neither tranquillity nor obedience would be obtained. The right hon. gent. had also mentioned the subject of the sheriffs, and it gave him great satisfaction when he heard what steps his Majesty's ministers intended to take on this most important point. During his own residence in Ireland, he had seen enough of the mischiefs that resulted from the present mode of nominating sheriffs for the different counties; and he conceived that it was not too much to say that, in many instances, in consequence of these illegal proceedings, the ends of justice were completely defeated. The sheriff, he was happy to say would now become the minister of justice, the representative of a country, exerting his influence, not for the prevalence of the power of any particular person or party, but for the benefit of the community. On the question of the magistrates much had also been said; and it had been remarked by the right hon. gentleman, that under the existing circumstances, it would be extremely difficult to reform them. He was very ready to allow that a very great difficulty did exist; but he could never agree that it was a matter impossible to be accomplished. On this subject he spoke with more confidence, as having been formerly appointed to an office of that nature in Ireland; and he was persuaded that the hon. gent. would be struck with astonishment when they heard the simple fact, that when he received the great seal of Ireland, there were many counties in which several Roman Catholic gentry resided, not only eligible, but most fit to be chosen for the office of magistrate, but not one of them was appointed; and in one of these very counties, a magistrate had been chosen who, but a very short time before, had actually served as waiter behind the grand juries at the assizes. During the time that he (Mr. P.) was in Ireland, much pains had been taken by him to inquire into this most important subject: he had written to the members of the privy council, to peers, and to many persons of whom he had a personal knowledge, to gain information, and to have it pointed out what cause of complaint could be urged against these magistrates. By these means much useful information was acquired; and he could assure the house that a reformation was indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of the Irish people; and, however difficult the task might appear, yet it was possible to be accomplished by exertion; and he hoped the utmost abilities and power would be used to obtain this most desirable end. With regard to the non-residence of the gentry, his opinion upon this question would, he believed, have no influence either the one way or the other. It was impossible, however, he conceived, to compel this residence, and it was the more incumbent upon the government to be careful in the future choice they should make of the magistrates. The noble lord opposite had asserted that he was ready to hear any individual plan that might be suggested; but what chance, he would ask, was there, if any plan was proposed, that it would succeed, when the planners themselves were disputing together? On a former occasion, what was his own fate, as well as that of his friends, when a measure was proposed with regard to Ireland? The administration was turned out, and those very gentlemen who were now at the head of affairs declared themselves to be prepared, and anxiously to wish not only for Catholic emancipation, but he firmly believed a revolution in the church. For his own part, he had no ambition to propose any more plans, because he knew that they would be no sooner heard than rejected. The amendment which had been moved by the right hon. gentleman he considered as perfectly absurd. It prayed for the production of documents already before the house: and although, indeed, the first paragraph of the amendment was similar to the original address, yet all the real substantial matter was omitted.

Mr. BATHURST (*amid cries of question*) endeavoured to distinguish the difference between the two addresses which had been moved. The arguments of the hon. gent. who had just sat down, he maintained, were futile, and dissimilar to any line of argument adopted during the whole course of the debate.

Sir FREDERIC FLOOD said, that, as an Irishman and an imperial representative, he could not suffer this opportunity to pass without giving his opinion on the question (*A laugh.*) In the county which he had the honour of representing, peace, order, and tranquillity had reigned for the last two years. As he understood this subject, there were three principal evils by which Ireland was afflicted. First the absence of the gentry from the country; and on this point he should be heartily glad if those gentlemen could be obliged to pay out of their own purses for their non-residence: secondly, Catholic emancipation; and upon this head his firm opinion was, that, until it was granted, Ireland could not be relieved from its burthens: and, thirdly, education—a subject, he was ready to admit, of great importance; but it was a fact, that there were now in Ireland 5,000 principal schools, besides hedge-schools (a *laugh*); and such was the thirst after knowledge among the lower classes of the Irish, that they actually sent their children to obtain instruction under the hedges. (*A laugh.*)

Sir NICHOLAS COLTHURST was, we understood, favourable to concession on both sides.

Sir JOHN NEWPORT then shortly replied, contending that it would be impossible to apply a remedy without knowing the nature and extent of the evil. The object of his motion was not to procure information of the disturbances, the existence of which was notorious, but to institute an inquiry which should trace them to their sources.

A division then took place.

For the amendment - - - - - - -	187
Against it - - - - - - - - - - -	103
Majority - - - -	84

In a committee on the assessed taxes bill, Mr. W. SMITH suggested the propriety of assessing persons who put down their carriages and horses to the end of the quarter in which they made the reduction, instead of assessing them for the whole year.

Mr. GORDON inquired whether, by this bill, the allowances made to those who had more than two children were to be withdrawn in consequence of the cessation of the property-tax?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied in the affirmative.

The bill was then ordered to be read a third time on Monday.

Lord CASTLEREAGH brought in the peace alien bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

Adjourned at HALF-PAST TWO o'clock.

The Times April 27.

BOMBAY.—PRINTED FOR THE *PROPRIETORS*, BY M. D. CRUZ, Number 10, MILITARY SQUARE,
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